

# frontier

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Editor: Samar Sen

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MR. Jaya Prakash Narayan, who has been in search of a method that can eradicate corruption from the face of India, has at last found one; a new party, Citizens for Democracy. Mr. Narayan has been taking his countrymen by surprise by odd pronouncements off and on—his verbal battle with Mrs. Gandhi, his penchant for China in preference to Russia, his concern for the young men perishing in jails, his allusions to rigged elections, his roundabout references to the fascist Government that reigns now at the Centre, his wishes for a flare up and so on. So long he behaved like a self-appointed conscience-keeper of the country, nobody took him seriously even though he could go on talking non-stop for three hours without taking a glass of water. But his support for the Gujarat movement and, later, his plunge into the Bihar arena have raised a flutter in the Gandhian doves. What exactly is at issue? In Gujarat and Bihar people are sacrificing their lives in the hope that their sacrifices will solve the problems of corruption, inflation and unemployment. In Gujarat people died to make the Assembly dissolve itself; in Bihar people are dying just to achieve that. Mr. Narayan said, justly so, that this particular objective was useless because one Assembly or Cabinet would be succeeded by another hardly distinguishable from the previous. But what does he himself hope to achieve by his party, which on its own admission has no other means to fight corruption except lectures and speeches?

Corruption today is not just something attached to the ruling governments and the reigning parties. Corruption is the system on which the present State stands—you remove corruption and the whole State, its bureaucracy, army, police, education, health and all the rest of it will collapse. Corruption today in India is not something that a skilled gardener can prune off. If one decides to fight corruption, one has to go the whole hog—fight against the Government, at the Centre and in the States, and along with them, the whole system that has built itself during the last twenty-six years.

It is beyond doubt that Mr. Narayan is back in the crucible of the petty politics or, if you may, the Great Politics of India. He is in very good company, of course—with the Swatantra, the Jana Sangh, etc. The newly formed confederation of the rightists considers him a

heaven-sent angel. The Congress is annoyed or pretends to be, but it will later find him handy as a leader of silent processions. And more annoyed is its faithful, the CPI. But most characteristic has been the reaction of the CPI(M) at the unkind comments being passed for Mr Narayan. Personally Mr Narayan is unblemishable, the party says. It said the same thing when Mrs Gandhi was about to lose power at the time of the Congress split some years ago; it has been repenting

ever since. But the party has not learnt the lesson. It is yet to understand that individual personality does not make a dent on the affairs of a State—it is the forces that carry the personality of men along with them. How else have people who are personally honest built around themselves a veritable empire of corruption? The first Prime Minister of India wanted to hang the black-marketeers. The irony of the question is, who hangs whom?

## The Rule Of Three

People had taken it for granted that Bangladesh would drop the proposed war crimes trial. Even then an air of suspense was built up in New Delhi and the three Foreign Ministers at times looked cheerful and at others pulled long faces. There must have been some hard bargaining over the starving non-Bengalis herded in camps in Bangladesh, but at last a compromise, for the time being at least, was found, and everybody was pleased with the 'historic' performance. Mr Aziz Ahmed was grateful to the Sheikh for his magnanimity. Had the Sheikh been stubborn, he would have been unpopular in his own country. Most people there are pleased at the turn of events since the Islamic Summit and are looking forward to resumption of trade and commerce with Pakistan in the hope that this would go part of the way to relieve their tremendous economic hardship. The creation of Bangladesh might have proved a god-send for Indian industrialists and businessmen but they have failed to deliver the goods. Industry in India itself is creating because of load-shedding, shortage of coal, the high price of oil and mismanagement, and even the small quantities that are going to Bangladesh are adding to the shortage and high prices here. It is only the smugglers and their patrons high up both here and

in Bangladesh who are doing well. If resumption of trade between Bangladesh and Pakistan restores part of the old balance, India should not mind because it is not efficient enough to exploit a situation for which it worked very hard indeed. Alas, Mrs Gandhi has proved to be a flash in the pan!

Normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan will take time, because New Delhi is not willing to resume diplomatic relations. It thinks that some other steps, like restoration of postal and other communication facilities, should be restored first.

Though the Delhi agreement has been welcomed by all the three governments, it is the problems at home that are nagging. It is a fast deteriorating situation with the sternest emphasis put on the maintenance of law and order. The killings in Bangladesh are raw, with individuals taking a prominent part. In India, in the spasmodic outbursts in Gujarat, Bihar and elsewhere, it is the government machinery that is responsible for the murders. In Pakistan, Mr Bhutto has decided on more liberal measures in Baluchistan. But the cracks in this sub-continent are widening, with disparate forces, speaking in many languages and with different ideologies, trying to make the confusion unbearable. The confabulations of

the traditional leftist parties, something that will have as could be passed off as comic the tragic situation overwhelming the people.

## How To Lose Friends

India is planning a major offensive in the Arab countries. And there is no earthly reason we would not be able to sell some of our traditional as well as non-traditional goods in the We would of course not be the one to woo these States which now acquired immense power from their oil. But planned and implemented, a of larger exports to these should normally prove successful. However, as usual New Delhi approach remains amateurish. This a procession of official, semi- and private delegations to these States. But that is not less all. They are all coming with the impression that these tries can buy a lot more of tea, jute goods, engineering ducts and even beef. But our government has not yet been able to make up its mind on one basic Should private traders be allowed to participate in this trade offensive? The saner section in the Government is known to be against it. But they have come under great pressure from the business and their hangers-on in government departments to let them a share in the cake and to make a quick buck. No public statement has yet been made as to the to be followed, but indication that private parties will not be totally shut off. And nothing can the planned trade offensive aground more certainly and India of whatever goodwill the try still enjoys in the region.

What happened in our trade with Bangladesh, we believe, should as an eye-opener. On that

arties, to March 1972 seemed to end the anti-imperialist phase. In the following year, however, it became more and more clear that the relationship with India meant a drain on the economic wealth of Bangladesh.

## Friends

After two years of Bangladesh's independence, the basic forces undermining the national economy of Bangladesh are not difficult to identify. The interests of the Indian bourgeoisie reign supreme. It is in the interest of the Indian capitalists to block the industrial development of Bangladesh and to help the growth of a merchant and middle class and to strengthen the hold of rich peasants, all of whom would ally in the control of the economy of Bangladesh. This way, economic resources can be extracted from Bangladesh for the development of industrial capitalism in the 'friendly neighbour'. At the same time, the new country could serve as a market for Indian goods which the Government of Bangladesh is obliged to import irrespective of quality and cost. The existence of a complicated and in many ways chaotic economic and political situation in the newly created country is largely consistent with the development of the class relations. From the moment the Awami League assumed administrative responsibilities there has been a steady growth of the class of traders. In the Awami League is a party of the middle men who 'serve' as intermediaries between the producers of agricultural goods on the one hand and the big trading corporations and industrial enterprises on the other hand. The influence of this class and its allies has been extended to external trade through the system of import and export licences controlled by the Awami League, the class of traders and merchants has been strengthened and its hold over the economy. A double hybrid structure of exploitation by unproductive elements in the towns has given the economy the appearance of a 'non-system'.

Meanwhile, the growth of a rich peasant class, the kullaks, is being encouraged by the Government. The 'First Five Year Plan' which was published in the beginning of December 1973, points out that the agricultural policy of the Ayub regime of Pakistan, who early in the 1960s started promoting capitalist farming continue to be propounded.

The result of the new alliance of class forces can be most easily demonstrated by looking at the production and export of jute, which, because of the importance of the product for this country as a foreign exchange earner, is called the 'backbone' of its economy. At the beginning of December the Indian Minister of State for Trade declared that India 'as a consequence of a bumper crop' in the current financial year is able to export one million bales of raw jute. In January, the Indian Government stated that its total exports this year probably will reach a new record. The sad implications of this 'happy story' will become clear once it is realized that for several decades India was not able to export any raw jute. In fact, India did not even produce sufficient jute to keep its own industries running in full capacity. A new situation was created when during the struggle against Pakistan large quantities of raw jute started to be smuggled out of the then 'hostile territory'. Long after the same area was turned into a 'friendly territory', smuggling has remained one of the important instruments through which the Indian industries are being provided with Bangladesh raw jute, and as a consequence of which the jute industries in Bangladesh are being deprived of raw materials. There is a direct link of the class interests between the traders of Bangladesh ('pharias') and the Indian merchants ('marwaris'). And the Government of Bangladesh fixed the price at which it is willing to buy the jute from the growers at a very low level, which encourages smuggling.

The jute industries of Bangladesh are in great difficulty. Some factors responsible for this state of affairs are the mismanagement and corruption of the ruling class elements who run the industries like merchants (using speculation, hoarding and other devices only for personal enrichment). But on the other hand there seems to be a sabotage of a different kind going on. In the past few months an unusually large number of godowns have been destroyed by fire. On the other side of the border, in West Bengal and Tripura, jute industries can be run on double and triple shifts but for load-shedding and labour unrest.

It should be clear that the ruling class of Bangladesh basically is comprador in character. While engaged in personal enrichment at the cost of the masses of the poor peasants, the workers and the lower middle classes, they are at the same time selling out the country's national interests by destroying the small industrial capacity it possesses. Their interests are, however not exclusively linked with the ruling classes of India. Many of the merchants engaged in export and import business see their wellbeing better served through trade with Western capitalist countries and with Japan. But the comprador elements who are profiting from the trade and sell-out to the neighbouring country are firmly embedded.

## Imitative Repression

A survey of the superstructure of Bangladesh society shows that the ruling class in many ways takes its lessons from the political method and tactics of the Indian bourgeoisie. Bangladesh does have its own government and administration, and the government takes a so-called 'radical stance' against imperialism, colonialism etc. But internally it makes use of all kinds of repulsive methods to suppress popular resistance. Like the Government of West Bengal, the election strategy of the Awami League includes the use of fascist tactics. The parli-

also New Delhi started with the unimpeachable proposition that private business should be kept out of the trade as far as possible. But that promise has proved just too much to keep. Soon the businessmen made their entry into the field and managed to live up to their reputation of making enemies of friends. If New Delhi does not want this sordid history to be repeated in the case of the Arab countries, it must put its foot down and now. Any kind of concession to businessmen in one form or another will only prove disastrous.

## How Many Prisoners?

International communist organisations are strangely indifferent to the large-scale repression of the communists still going on in Indonesia. The official attempt to pass on the blame for the "disorders" that took place in Jakarta in January to the communist, underground has not impressed any section of public opinion in the country. No one is prepared to believe that the Indonesian Communist Party, faced as it is with severe repression and ceaseless witch-hunts, can mobilise thousands of students and young men to defy the military regime. On the contrary, the impression has gone round that the authorities want to persecute thousands of communists who have either escaped arrest or are still in prison.

The concern over the fate of these has become all the more acute, as the whole basis for their suppression has been knocked out by numerous facts that have come to light during the past one year. It is curious that no one in Indonesia is able to give the exact figures of communist prisoners. General Suharto, former Attorney General, said in September 1971 that there were approximately 10,000 prisoners but added that this figure was "floating". Very few are reported to have been released since then. The released include rank

and file communists and members of the PKI's mass organisations, bracketed in the so-called "C" group. The Suharto regime sent 50,000 for trial. They include the leading functionaries of the party, belonging, according to Indonesian classification, to the "A" group. Most of them have been in prison for almost seven to eight years. Not more than 30 cases have so far been tried, which means that the majority of prisoners are almost sure to die in prison, long before they could be found guilty of either real or alleged misdemeanour. All things considered, there are several reasons for the Government's procrastination in going through with the legal procedure. One of the reasons most frequently cited is the lack of personnel and means for speedier conduct of trials. This is, however not the only reason. The Government wants to go on and on with these trials; the longer the better, so that the population could be kept in suspense of fear and suspicion against the communists. In a sense, the "communist danger" serves the present regime in the same way as neo-colonialism and imperialism did Sukarno; their political and economic failure can always be attributed to communists and their designs.

There are over 10,000 communist prisoners of "A" category. It is officially stated that they cannot be released because they still pose a danger to the present regime; neither can they be brought to trial, as there is practically nothing to charge them with. These 10,000 or even 15,000 people are in concentration camps on the island of Buru, and possibly on other islands as well.

After the January "disorders" the Suharto Government should have learnt that silence on the part of the Indonesian people cannot always be interpreted as their agreement with the policies pursued by the authorities, and that it can very soon give way to active and destructive protests.

## Bangladesh

### The Counter-Revolution

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

HAS Bangladesh completely followed the path of SA? This was the headline of an article in one of the opposition weeklies in Bangladesh. The article discussed a meeting which police bosses of Indian States having common borders with Bangladesh (West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and Meghalaya), were asked to have held together with the police head of Dacca, around the middle of December in Calcutta and talks apparently were on how to counter the Naxalite movement in West Bengal and in Bangladesh. The theory and practice of organising the lumpen proletariat into a revolutionary vanguard, which was successful in West Bengal, might be repeated in Bangladesh.

To understand the nature of the international counter-revolutionary forces, but the Eastern part of the South Asian subcontinent, it is necessary to look more closely at the class forces and the material interests which are (partly) shared by the ruling class on both sides of the India-Bangladesh border. India helped a very much prador class come to power in Bangladesh, a class of traders who the political instrument is the Awami League. India's intervention in 1971 essentially intercepted a revolutionary process which threatened to turn the struggle for Bangladesh independence into a true people's war.

Once the Bengali emotions about the liberation from the atrocious Pakistani army had subsided, the people started counting the negative effects of the Indian intervention. At first these seemed limited and temporary. There were rumours of looting and plundering of industrial resources and machinery and the official withdrawal of the Indian

elections in March 1973 were as badly rigged as the 1971 elections were in West Bengal. The use of organising gangs ('goondas') to destroy leftist forces was used in West Bengal against Naxalites and CPI cadres, long before the Awami League organised its private army and different kinds of so-called 'volunteers'. The presidential order of 1969/70 which the Government of Bangladesh devised to round up elements of opposition parties, has many elements in common with the Internal Security Act enacted in 1969/70 in West Bengal. Behind the facade of 'democratic socialism' which has a history of 20 years in India, the exploitation of the peasants, the workers and the lower middle class intensified. Aside from the gangs, the ruling class makes use of better equipped anti-popular forces, namely the Rakkhi Bahini. These paramilitary forces (something like the CRPF in India) are preferentially employed against guerilla and Maoist revolutionaries but often they arrest and torture South Asian military peasants and other villagers. They are compared by the class forces in India with the Pakistani army's 'black terror' in 1971. Men of the ruling class in India-Bangladesh certainly are not much like a Bangladesh force: they have been trained by outsiders, traders, who the ruling classes of India and Bangladesh share a compulsion to suppress leftist parties and popular movements even more than they threaten economic interests. To do this one can point to the holy alliance of three main parties—an evidence as exclusive of the Rakkhi Bahini. The Troika of the Awami League, National Awami Party (Muzaffar) and Communist Party Bangladesh (CPB) was formed in September last. With the Awami League being more and more weak and isolated from the population, its policies suddenly changed their position of refusing to collaborate with the political parties. The National Awami Party (Muzaffar) and the

Communist Party Bangladesh (CPB) naturally were the first candidates considered, since they are the only parties which are pro-Indian (besides being pro-Russian).

The only significant programme of the Troika until now has been the formation of local 'defence parties', a new form of gangs to whom weapons can be allocated in order to destroy leftist and opposition groups. The revisionist parties thus have not only become class collaborators, but in fact 'capitulationists' whose only role seems to be to subordinate the interests of people to the exploiting classes. They have become informers for the Awami League, providing the authorities with information about members of opposition parties and underground Maoist groups. Thus their function is complementary to the one of the Rakkhi Bahini, and they serve the same class interests. Together they form the pillars of the counter-revolutionary alliance of the Indian capitalists and merchants on the one hand, and the Bangladesh traders on the other.

There are rumours that gangs sent from outside or organised by the ruling class of Bangladesh are now operating as 'Marxist-Leninists' or 'Naxalites'.

#### Export of Counter-revolution

After having followed this chain it is evident that common economic interests of the exploiting classes of India and Bangladesh inevitably lead to the joint defence of these interests. Without answering the question whether India would intervene directly with its armed forces in case of a popular insurrection as it did in Chittagong Hill Tracts, it can be said that the counter-revolution is already international in character. Like Sikkim, Bhutan, Ceylon and other regions of the subcontinent, Bangladesh falls under the 'protective umbrella' of the Indian capitalist class.

The counter-revolution is not a purely subcontinental matter. Sheikh Mujib was released from a Pakistani

prison largely as the result of the role played by the U.S. Government. The Russians fear the spread of Maoism. Consequently, the Soviet Union has taken upon itself a special military role, providing the Bangladesh air force with Russian Migs, and organising their disguised naval base in the port of Chittagong.

The Indian interest in stemming the revolutionary trend in Bangladesh is, however, the strongest. And it is the Indian ruling class which could most easily strangle a successful socialist revolution.

The Bengali people for centuries have struggled for independence, first against British imperialism, more recently against a Pakistani type of colonialism. Still in spite of their heroic struggles, national independence has remained like a *fata morgana*. The fundamental reason for the seeming non-attainability of this goal is that counter-revolution is being exported. The fate of the proletarian revolution in Bangladesh is inevitably linked up with the revolution in the whole subcontinent. Since the exploitation by foreign powers cannot be resolved at a national level, the Bengali revolution will have to be of a more advanced kind. Ceylon and Sikkim have shown that the bourgeois and other reactionary forces in the different countries do not feel any restraint in coordinating their forces in opposition to the people's struggles.

#### Postscript

The writer is conscious of the fact that as far as the superstructural aspects of the question is concerned, the article shows one important gap: namely, the problem of communalism and how it plays into the hands of the ruling classes of India and Bangladesh, is not discussed. But it was felt that this problem is too complicated to be dealt with summarily. It should be considered in depth, and in a separate article.

## Document

*The following is the communique of the Assam-Tripura Zonal Committee of the CPI-ML.*

**I**NSIDE or outside of the Party, everyone is agreed that the principal cause of the all-India setback suffered since the end of 1970 by the Indian revolution and its standard bearer, the CPI(M) lies within ourselves. The political and organizational crisis that began after the setback has, within the last three years, deepened. This event proves with certainty that the enemy's all-round attack was not the fundamental cause of the setback and the crisis, but that the responsibility lies with our subjective errors.

The great debate and discussion over the setback and errors, continued over the last one year, has helped to raise the ideological and theoretical standards of the whole party. But all the analyses and assessments suffer from the same weakness: all of them look at the errors superficially, without revealing their principal source by entering into their depths. Thus it has not been possible to eradicate the errors at their roots.

Our tasks are to search out the principal source of our errors and then to combine the negative and positive experiences of our party and lift it to the level of theory so that the theory may light the path of our struggle and advancement.

The experiences of the great Chinese Revolution and the ongoing Vietnamese revolution have established, and the successes and failures of the Indian revolution have confirmed, the truth that violent revolution in a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society is the sum of two forms of struggle—military struggle and mass struggle. These two forms of struggle have separate characteristics and thus demand separate attention and solution. But these two forms must be applied together, i.e., the principle of their simultaneity must be rig-

rously enforced keeping the military struggle as the principal form with which one must coordinate all political economic and cultural mass struggles either directly or indirectly.

All our principal errors stem from the absence of a deep understanding of this truth. By "violent revolution" we confusedly understood "armed struggle" or, more specifically, "guerilla warfare", but we had no understanding of the fact that under the leadership of a truly revolutionary party, all mass struggles—violent uprisings, political movements and even struggles launched on immediate economic demands—are part and parcel of violent revolution. Due to our lack of understanding of the methodological principle of the simultaneity of the mass struggle and military struggle in a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and of its indispensability in the process of safeguarding and developing the revolutionary armed struggle, we laid a one-sided stress on guerilla warfare and either neglected mass struggle or kept it in abeyance by consigning it to a later stage. Similarly, in the past, under the influence of revisionism, we had laid a one-sided stress on mass struggle and either neglected armed struggle or consigned it to a later stage. Thus, throughout the history of the Indian communist movement, we have committed either "Left" or Right errors. On the one hand, guerilla struggles or the armed units did not last long in the absence of the foundation and active help of mass struggles while, on the other hand, lacking the protection and help of the armed forces, the mass struggles could not develop or last. We never learned to combine the two forms of struggle.

In this rare moments in our history when this method of simultaneity was applied, especially in Telengana (1948-49) and Naxalbari (1967), there were great advances in the revolutionary struggle. But it was not difficult for revisionism and dogmatism to destroy the results of these struggles, because the method

was applied unconsciously, casually and, therefore, only marginally.

### Principal Errors

The struggle of the Naxalites peasants under the banner of Tse-tung Thought and the armed commencement, due to its enormous impact, of armed peasant struggle in many parts of India, especially in Srikakulam, and the formation of the CPI(ML) on the basis of an India-wide unity was the large waves of revolutionary struggles in India by removing the monopoly of revisionism and coming from among a large section of the masses and by the sharp penetration among them of the politics of armed seizure of power. But the cause of our inability to understand the aforementioned fundamental rule of violent revolution, we confused and compounded the military struggle and the mass struggle—the two processes with specifically different characteristics. For example, the method of guerilla struggle, which is the main form of military struggle, was applied in the place of the anti-feudal mass struggle of the peasants. The killing of landlords under specific circumstances by building small groups may be a particular form of the peasants' class struggle, although it is not the "higher" or only form of the anti-feudal struggle in general. But to call this the preference for guerilla warfare is wrong. Guerilla warfare is a specific method of fighting adopted by our small weak armed forces against the powerful armed forces of the enemy. Thus it may be initiated only in combat against the armed forces of the enemy.

Due to our lack of understanding of the particular characteristics of the immediate importance of the military struggle, we did not even do the conscious political and organizational task of building the regular armed forces and totally neglected the task of military struggle. Instead, the formation of the

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iously, for it was covered under a plethora of only momentary and thus, this most important problem was not even proposed. Our lack of understanding of the particular character of the Naxalbari mass struggle and the banner of Maoism in the united and the mass parties in it led to the post-its enthusiastic or abandonment of extensive struggle, local or national alliances, howsoever, especially suitable or temporary, against the formation of a common enemy. The character of the Naxalbari (ML) on the whole bourgeoisie de unity created a problem because it was "constitutional" at birth, the labelling of moving the line as revisionism and treating it as one with counter-revolutionary section of theory revisionism—these were simultaneous penetrations attempts to make this deviation politically defensible.

But to move all, the failure to undertake to understand the simultaneity of the military fundamental struggle and the mass struggle led to the abandonment of mass struggle, the weapon of the ruling classes. Specifically later when the necessity of mass struggle was admitted in words, it was in effect abandoned through its form of militarization as the work of the armed in the case of the "stage" and by denying the necessity of mass organizations.

### Consequences

One disastrous consequence of this confusion of military struggle with the mass struggle was the "physical" or only form of "physical" struggle in general liquidation. It is true that in his preface to the revolution, physical liquidation of class enemies takes place and a specific method is never leads the struggle to be by our small attack. But when a specific line against the political method grew on the foundation of the enemy and the killing of landlords and when it became the fashion to advocate as many killings as possible instead of as few as possible, we slowly lost the sympathy of the masses and became isolated. The inevitable consequence of this deviation was that did not encourage rural struggles were never able to destroy the political power and the status of the landlord class. In fact, we deviated from this real line because dependence on the mass class consciousness and spontaneity

taneous hatred of a few peasants and imposed revolution on the unprepared masses. Naturally, while facing the white terror, the masses became confused and terror-stricken; mass resistance became impossible and the whole mass basis faced great losses or even complete destruction. As a result, organized mass movements and mass uprising for the political seizure of power became unreal dreams. Starting out as admiring but inactive supporters, the masses slowly became neutral observers; armed struggle became the barren effort of a few advanced persons and aggressive closed-doorism, horrible sectarianism and adventurism swallowed up the whole party. The call to build up mass movements which came later, could not, under these circumstances, create anything but hollow echoes.

The wrong notion about guerrilla warfare and a fantastic primitiveness on the problem of building the armed forces resulted in the abandonment of army formation to spontaneity. Thus army formation became impossible even in those areas of West Bengal and Andhra where enough fighters were available for the construction of cores for the army. The work of building the United Front and mass struggles was also abandoned to spontaneity by rejecting the use of united front tactics and building new mass organization or using the existing ones. This abandonment to spontaneity of two out of three "magic weapons" required to make the revolution victorious in any area (i.e. to liberate the area) led inevitably to the failure of all efforts to create a base area; the existing armed units slowly became inactive or became transformed into roving rebel bands; the party became more and more isolated and lacking in initiative; desertion and surrender increased rapidly in the presence of a relentless white terror and the enemy managed to "put out the fire of armed struggle" everywhere.

The party became isolated from revolutionary practice of the masses

due to its abandonment of mass struggle, so that it had no option other than a dependence upon the wisdom of one particular leader when it had to test the correctness of its line. As a result, the principles of democratic centralism were increasingly trampled upon and replaced by the wrong notion of "individual authority". Instead of the proletarian revolutionary attitude of "searching for the truth from facts" came slavishness and the deranged petty bourgeois vice of authority worship. Brilliant cadres became bureaucratic, while careerists and enemy agents managed to infiltrate into the party. The fight against centrism on the question of the formation of the party was dragged into the party and all differences of opinion were strangled with the cry of centrism. In certain areas, to all these was added the odious influence of the wrong line on physical liquidation and the pipe-gun or the dagger became the weapons for the resolution of internal contradictions. The enemy has utilised this situation fully. It is true that the despair, imprisonment and even the untimely death of many priceless leaders, cadres and innocent persons were directly caused by this deranged and often dishonest authority worship.

This wrong notion was even internationalized and the old Khrushchevite wine of "international authority" was imported in a new bottle by denying the equal and fraternal relationship between the communist parties of various lands through such wrong, harmful and anti-proletaria-internationalist slogans such as "China's Chairman is Our Chairman". In fact, one important reason why so many wrong

For Frontier contact

APOLLO BOOK HOUSE,

K. B. Road,

Jorhat-2,

Assam.

## NOTICE

Owing to prolonged and erratic load-shedding, we are being compelled to combine, in a very shortened form indeed, the last issue of Vol. 6 with the first issue of Vol. 7. This is not the way to complete the sixth year and begin the seventh year of this journal, but the times are abnormal. The next issue will be that of May 4.

lines persisted for so long was our mechanical and dogmatic dependence on "international authority" and "recognition".

## Charu Mazumdar

Evaluation of the personal role of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the principal architect of the Naxalbari peasant movement and the founder of the CPI(ML), is a very important political question. The personal contribution of Comrade Charu Mazumdar should not be denied, nor should it be exaggerated. To overstress his personal responsibility for the party's errors and thus to look upon him as an "unconscious traitor" is a horrible Right deviation. Similarly, unreal thinking, such as "his line is correct, but the cadres made the mistakes in practice", is simply the continuation of the "Left" deviation of the past. The grandest quality of Comrade Charu Mazumdar was that he displayed an extraordinary courage and bravery in the implementation of certain important Marxist-Leninist conclusions in the Indian revolution and the application of Mao Tse-tung Thought to the concrete conditions of India. He made great contributions: (1) in the work of rescuing the Indian revolution and the Indian party from revisionist quicksands; (2) in leading the Indian people with certainty into the revolutionary path by initiating the peasant armed struggle; and (3) in rebuilding of the party in a new

style by severing all relations with counter-revolutionary revisionism. For these reasons, he was a great revolutionary and a Marxist-Leninist.

But he used to derive specific lines and methods not from the concrete conditions of the Indian revolution but from theoretically derived Marxist-Leninist conclusions and, inevitably, made dogmatist errors. Under the influence of the spontaneous, all-India mass upsurge since 1966, he began to minimize the strength of the enemy and exaggerated the subjective forces of revolution and became, in many ways, a worshipper of spontaneity. Under the influence of dogmatism, he became disinclined towards self-analysis and did not undertake a relentless and thorough analysis even after the defeat of 1970-71. Above all, due to his lack of understanding of the combination, difference and simultaneity of the two forms of struggle, he made serious errors on the questions of mass struggle, guerilla warfare, army-building and the United Front. It is true that these mistakes were our mistakes, but his responsibility was the greatest in the matter of their formulation.

In spite of this, his contribution and achievement far outweigh his mistakes. His life of struggle, his death-defying courage, his bitter self-sacrifice, his embracement of death like a communist—all these are lessons for every communist.

There is no doubt that the way ahead must be through the correct solution of unity and struggle between the two forms of struggle, through making the rural areas the principal theatre of struggle, through the taking up of the task of building the armed forces of the workers and the peasants as the principal task so that military and political bases may be established in suitable places. While paying main attention to this principal task, we must adhere to the party's class line and apply the united front tactics in building mass organisations to develop various political and economic struggles by different sections of the

masses according to their consciousness and wishes and relentlessly forward towards the organisation of an armed uprising. Naturally our primary armed units will be extremely small and extraordinarily mobile but they will slowly develop in number, in weaponry and tactically activating the masses into various types of mass struggles and the sudden attacks and combat against the enemy's armed forces. The danger units will become regular and military units when the party's conscious efforts are added. This is a determining importance to the effort because without important serious defeats, rather than isolated clashes, upon the enemy's main forces, the mass struggle will rise to even higher stages and dimensions. Areas will not develop.

The mass struggles and partial surrections of the toiling masses including students and must be actively fostered so that rural struggle can be helped in a way and preparation made for all-out armed uprising. In the ban areas, we should oppose adventurism of the blind desire for action and should instruct cadres to work underground and for opportunities so that a firm, sure and measured steps with vigilance.

The dogmatism, sectarianism and adventurism of the past must be defeated for the healthy development of the party, and the minds of those who are still clinging to the errors of the past must be liberated step by step through patient teaching. Aggressiveness and violence are not permissible. Many comrades

For Frontier contact

BANI PRAKASH,

Panbazar,

Gauhati-1,

Assam.

For Fr

MANI

No. 2,

T. Na

Madra

increasingly realising the errors of the past but they are not looking at the errors in their own connexion separately and individually. Thus they are discovering the symptoms but not the disease. As a result they are inevitably laying a one-sided stress on mass movements and repeating the 'right' errors of the past by re-asserting the secrecy which is the very lifeblood of the party and taking these dangerous roads of open and oblique methods. They are denying the role of Comrade Charu here and some are even denying the party by inclining towards liquidationist line. This thinking later tactics obliterates the dividing line between Marxism and modern revisionism and may take on serious baseless unless thwarted.

**'Left Deviation'**  
Looking at the problems as a whole, the danger of 'left' deviation is decreasing and the danger of 'right' deviation is increasing. Although 'left' deviation remains the principal danger in those areas where comrades are still clinging to the old line. Both these deviations deny the unity and struggle between the two forms of struggle and their interrelationship.

To go against the side is a Marxist-Leninist principle. Today it is the duty of all comrades who have stood at the correct line to firmly stand against the majoritarian tide dominated by these two deviations and conduct the struggle for bringing the majority of honest and diligent comrades to their side. Only in this way, will they be able to isolate the handful of careerists and

enemy agents who are utilising the confusions within the party by throwing their lines into the troubled waters.

It is the party which will conduct the armed and mass struggles. Therefore the ability to build the army or base areas depends on whether we can skilfully unite, extend and consolidate the party.

The process of consolidating the party on an all-India basis is getting blocked from two directions. On the one side are the liquidationists who are challenging the usefulness and legitimacy of the formation of the party in 1969 and are advocating a return to the level of "co-ordination". The liquidationists want to widen, deepen and make permanent the cracks, which due to various errors have appeared in the revolutionary units forged on an all-India basis around the CPI (ML) instead of moving step by step towards the cementing of these cracks. On the other side are the sectarians who have isolated themselves from the majority by trampling upon all democratic principles and even created a fake "Central Committee". The deviation has not only not helped the creation of all-India unity but has instead encouraged our internal disunity, misunderstandings and suspicions.

The Assam-Tripura provincial committees have created the Assam-Tripura Zonal Committee consisting of the leading cadres of the two areas, upon the basis of fundamental and minimum political unity and through the infliction of a defeat over liquidationism and sectarianism. They have thus taken a first step towards consolidation on a 'zonal' basis. This zonal committee requests and calls upon the cadres, members and sympathisers of the party in other areas: to immediately unite on a zonal scale on the basis of minimum political unity; to start from a desire for unity and to arrive at a new unity through the principled criticism and self-criticism of past and present errors; and in this way proceed on an all-India basis

towards the party's ninth national congress (2nd after Naxalbari). Comrade Mao's latest call be our standard: "Bring Marxism, not revisionism; be united, do not split; be open and above board, do not intrigue and conspire".

Our sole agent in Bangladesh  
**CHALANTIKA BAIGHAR**

14, Banglabazar

Dacca-1

For Frontier contact

**M. VEERAMALLIAH,**

Station Road,

Warangal-2,

Andhra Pradesh.

**প্রস্তুতি**

বেরোলো

এ সংখ্যার থাকছে : সংস্কৃতিক সাময়িকী /

'ভিয়েতনামের আগস্ট বিপ্লব' /

প্রবন্ধ : 'আমি কি ভারতীয়?' আরো চারটি

প্রবন্ধ : হিন্দী, ওড়িয়া, উর্দু সাহিত্যের

প্রগতিবাদী ধারা ও দিল্লীর নাটক সম্পর্কে /

প্রেমচন্দ্রের গল্প ও কিছু হিন্দী কবিতা

এবং

ইউজিন জাতিয়ারের সংক্ষিপ্ত জীবনীসহ দেশী

বিদেশী সংগ্রাম গণসংগীতের সংকলন।

কার্যালয় : ৩৩, রাণী হর্ষদ্বী রোড

কলিকাতা-৭০০০০২

For Frontier contact

**MANITHAN,**

No. 2, Mangesh Street,

T. Nagar,

Madras - 17.

## Palestinian Poetry

### The Bleeding Lutes, The Blazing Crosses

I. K. SHUKLA

THE Palestinian struggle for freedom and homeland is not mere sporadic and sensational gunfire by the guerillas, nor sanctimonious resolutions in the UN off and on. It is one of the crying tragedies of our century—Arabs rendered waifs in their own country and hounded out, because Christian nations decided, in penitence and piety, that the Jews be given a homeland. From this generous impulse sprang Israel, dug into the heart of Arab lands as a dagger—Palestine was all but forgotten—a people, a culture, a history were rubbed out of existence at one stroke of a Western conspiracy buttressing Zionism.

The fiery symphony following here, however rugged in form, constitutes a precious document of history enshrining a testament of suffering and self-respect. Its roots can be traced to farther back than 1948 or 1967. It found expression elsewhere in West Asia, in fiction, drama and poetry. But the new Palestinian literature, chiefly poetry, has emanated from the experience of Israeli terror rendering thousands (3 million) refugees. War and art became twin fields of encounter for the beleaguered Palestinian. Verse became the Fedayeen's armour, assertion, and Annunciation.

Two landmarks of this revolutionary muse are the *Diwan Al-Watan-Al-Muhtall* (The Occupied Home) of Yusuf-al-Katib and the lectures delivered by Dr Abdurrahman Yaghi, Dean, University of Amman, which

For much of my material here I am indebted to *Islamic Literature*, Hyderabad, April 1973, Prof. A. K. Julius German's article, "The New Palestinian Poetry from Beneath the Crossfire".

detail the radical literature of the new Palestinians. The Dean made a fervent plea to all writers to join the freedom fight against foreigners. Poets answered this call and their emotional volcano found symbols in the bleeding lute and the blazing cross. The variety of emotional response was well arched by the Lute and the Cross. If the former was a tear drop, the latter was a mailed fist, and not merely all suffering and submission.

Major among the poets inhabiting the occupied territories are Abdur-Rahim Mahmoud, Abi Salma, Ibrahim Toqan, Mahmoud Darwish, Toufiq Zayyad (the author of *The Young or Pigeons—Afrak* Hamam). Some of them were jailed, but their message could not be confined to the prison walls. A note of regret for Palestinians failure to keep pace with the times rings out in many poems.

There are two broad divisions of modern poetry in Palestine. The divide is marked by 1960. Sorrow, paeans to liberty, lament for the martyrs, identification with the refugees, anguish at their afflictions, and dismay at the world's apathy characterise the poetry of the period. Poets were constrained to employ symbols in order to camouflage their meaning. A wistfulness for the lost home and an undying faith in the redemptive future are unmistakable in the poetic effusions of this period. The examples of Cuba, Algeria, and Vietnam itself in them a sense of solidarity with the fellow fighters elsewhere and the will to survival against odds.

The post-1960 period bids goodbye to the sentimentalism of the earlier phase and partakes of grit and granite. The earlier 'literariness' is replaced by a popular idiom close to the oral speech of the ancient mawalia. The glory of the Arab poet glows in their memory and their poetic output, suffused with a new light, makes the oak, the olive the paternal meadow and its bracing air spring to life. The pri-

vations of the refugees impelling socialist angle and a class consciousness are evident in the writing of quite a number of poets.

#### Chorus

This cry, turned into a chant, did not go in vain. Fellow writers in Arab countries and beyond responded with support. The poem here aim at arousing the conscience of humanity at large. For one part, they lack subtlety and sophistication. But this is more than made up by the ring of earnestness. It is their message or appeal in no doubt. A fire coursing through the signifying the will to live and valiantly flashes forth from all of them. This quality cannot be ignored or missed.

The Palestinian problem has been allowed over the years to grow into a simmering volcano. The plea of the refugees is signified well in the bleeding lutes. Before these turn into blazing crosses and the volcano sends out blasts, world conscience should assert itself in the cause of justice and humanity. Time is flying away too fast for any complacency. Palestine remains a challenge to the morals and of course to the usefulness of the U.N. The poems, rough, embody the suffering of people who have kept their heads high amidst all misery and despair. Hence they are an affirmation and an indictment.

Samih al-Qasim (Anish): *Sorrow*  
Upright I walk  
Head held high  
An olive-branch and dove in hand  
My corpse astride my shoulder,  
My heart a full moon.  
With thorns, exhaling sweet life  
My lips like the sky pouring  
Now fire, then love.  
And I walk...

: *The Strangers*:  
Forty years in the desert of Sin  
Then returned the others,  
And we walked on... the next  
day came the  
Where to? ... and how long shall

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we wonder?  
And remain strangers?  
Sorrow and Revolt:  
A long time ago  
I never shooed away a visitor from  
my door,  
But I opened my eyes a certain morn  
And found my crops stolen  
My life's mate hanged,  
The little son's back—a field of  
wounds!  
My guests imposters!  
So I laid mines and daggers at  
door.  
And swear by knife's edge;  
No visitor hence to enter my home  
I was but a poet  
In the circle of mystic dreamers  
But now a volcano in revolt  
In the twentieth century.  
The Infants of Rafah:  
From the voice of Ala-Eddin<sup>1</sup> has  
erupted:  
The birth of the self-conscious birds  
of prey.  
It was I who threw stones at the  
enemy's car  
I distributed the circulars  
I gave the signals  
I embroidered the banner  
Carrying chairs and brushes  
From quarters... to houses... to  
the walls  
I gathered the youngsters  
And far away from the refugees,  
we swore  
That we would fight  
As long as in our street the aggressor's  
bayonet appears.

1 This boy became the symbol of  
patriot's resistance.  
Malmond Darwish: Identity Card  
Record:  
I am an Arab  
My card number fifty thousand.  
Have eight children.  
The ninth will come after the  
summer.  
Are you angry?  
Don't forget:  
I am an Arab.  
I work with the quarry with  
fellows in toil

Have eight children  
I steal for them  
The loaf of bread  
And clothes  
And copy books  
Out of the rocks,  
But I seek no alms at your door.  
Nor humble myself at your palace  
gate. Are you angry?  
Bear in mind. I'm an Arab  
A name without distinction  
Patient in a country where  
All live in the warmth of wrath.  
My roots were laid  
Before Time dawned,  
Before Ages had day-break,  
Before the cyprus, olive, lush  
meadow bloomed  
My father: from a family of  
ploughman  
Not from nobility  
My grandfather: a peasant  
Lacking a hoary pedigree  
My house: a watchman's hut  
Of wood and reed.  
Are you satisfied?  
Am an Arab  
My hair wheat in hue  
My eyes coffee-coloured  
My character?  
A shawl on head, a band on it  
My palms rock-hard,  
Prickly to whoever touch them  
My address: A secluded village  
...forgotten.  
Its lanes bear no names  
All its men in fields or quarry  
They love the common cause.  
Are you cross?  
Do not forget  
I'm an Arab.  
The vineyards of my forbears were  
stolen.  
Also the field I tilted,  
With my children  
Nothing was left us or our grandsons  
Except these rocks  
Will they too be seized  
By your government, as heard?  
Well!  
Flash the first page banner-line  
I don't hate the people  
I don't pounce on any one  
But if I starve  
I'll eat the flesh of my robbers  
Take care... of my hunger  
And my anger.

Sparrows sans Wings:  
Our infants are scattered without  
shoes  
Vanishing in all the paths of loss  
and doom  
Extinguished in misery and  
meagreness.  
It is for them that I learnt to  
fight  
Till their spring return, till they  
return with baskets  
Filled with numerous edibles  
The sun is for the infants, the  
morrow, the truth, and all fancy.

### Diary of Palestine Wounds

Formerly we were only dove-  
chicken  
So our seed is not yet crushed in  
iron chairs  
We, oh my sister, for twenty  
years past  
Have not written poetry  
We have fought.  
The earth that sucked the martyrs  
Promised a summer with corn and  
stars  
Do adore it!  
We harbour in our breast salt and  
water  
Upon our bosom a wound which  
fights.  
A tear drop in throat oh my sister  
And in my eye, fire.  
I gave up complaining at the ruler's  
door  
All who died, and will die at the  
day door  
Embraced and made me an arrow.  
It sure had to be from enemies  
That I knew we were twins  
If the crucified Lord had not grown  
On the throne of the Cross.  
He'd have remained  
A lost infant, scared of wounds.

### The Singer Said:

The singer on the cross of pain  
With wounds shining as stars  
Said to people around him  
Everything... except repentance.  
Thus I died standing erect, like  
a tree,  
Thus will turn the Cross  
Into a pulpit, or a staff of

And its pegs... strings.  
Thus descends the rain  
Thus grows the tree,  
But my voice shouted one day:  
I don't fear  
And flog it if you can  
And run after the echo  
As long as it shouts: I don't fear.

Taufiq Zayyad: The Crucified

I watch a blast of the wind  
Which comes from the east.  
Perchance on the flying wings  
Brings us news  
Perchance on a day the brook  
will shout.  
Take heart, you forlorn people  
O thou crucified, ...they have  
transgressed the line.

: Talk in the Gaol:

Oh my people,  
Oh thou wood of ambergris,  
Oh thou, dearer than my soul to  
me.  
We remain true to our compact  
We flinched not at the torment  
in the cell  
Nor at the shackles of tyranny  
or its buckles:  
We endure hunger and its pains.  
But we'll break the chains of the  
crucified moon,  
We'll restore you your rights  
And preserve the morning from  
the night of desires  
Till no sale and purchase rule  
No boat remains without sails.

: With my Teeth:

With my teeth  
I shall protect every inch of my soil

For Frontier contact

NAVODYA PUBLISHERS,

Eluru Road,

Vijayawada-2,

Andhra Pradesh.

melody  
Shall not exchange it with anything  
Nor even if it will depend  
On my throbbing artery.  
I shall remain  
The captive of my affection.  
the fence of my house  
To the dew... the twisted lily.  
I remain,  
And all my crosses  
Will not bend me.

: To You:

Oh mother, on whose neck are fetters  
Oh my nation tyrants wish  
You kiss their shoes,  
Oh street, teeming with processions  
Oh brethren, the workmen,  
I love you all.  
I love every fist shaking  
Into the face of the villains,  
And of the haughty brows  
In the battle field

I love all the brave words, outspoken.  
I love every wild flower  
Which crowns the hills  
Every handful of sand  
Every permitted morsel.  
I love you all.  
I love my nation cursed with

wandering  
Oh brethren, I carry you with me  
In my heart flowering with hopes.

: Kuba:

Oh my friends, who spread the  
fragrance of struggle around  
Rise against the exploiters who  
clipped my wings.  
By my side a multitude of men,  
filled with wounds,  
Thrown on vast frontiers, yearns  
for the rightful home  
Enlarge the eagle's wings stronger  
than gale:  
The oppressors don't understand  
humility and imprecation  
But they do the strong men rushing  
to battlefield.

## Book Review

### SIKKIM, A SHORT POLITICAL HISTORY

By Lal Bahadur Basnet  
S. Chand & Co., New Delhi

It would appear that the author, speaking of Sikkim, a so-called short political history, writes with a chip on his shoulder due, possibly, to his incarceration in the Central Jail at Kathmandu, for alleged CIA activities in the Kingdom, followed by his unceremonious deportation from Nepal, none of which appear on the book's jacket. But for his short infiltration into the Sikkim National Congress, he was either in jail at Kathmandu or on the pay-roll of the Chogyal when all else fails he tries to chronicle the place.

Part I of the book is a not very interesting rehash from all the available material of the early period of Sikkim and is redundant, and has been infinitely more explicitly and correctly written by others, whose books it would appear dangerous, and observations have been adopted cynically and with the dexterity of an opportunist, but is when he comes to Part II that the full realisation of the sheer inadequacy of what he chooses to term "short political history" is exposed in its varied manifestations and limitations, and, might one write, uncouthness.

At the time of the people's revolution in April 1973, the author was in the service of the Chogyal, and as such is the last person to be in any position to point criticising finger, sensitive to those who are very much in the vortex of Sikkim politics. He took good care to be out of the entire movement, escaped the shooting and grievous lathi charges, tear-gas, etc. Can such a person write about the least 'Revolution'? The sickening gloss he magnifies into "history", makes tiresome reading for the cognoscenti. The very fact that the Sikkimese people could launch the successful April Revolution at the clarion call

Kazi Lhendup Dorji-Khangsarpa Chaklung, amply proves Mr Bas-

in a country where the Nepalese are overwhelmingly in a majority, Kazi Lhendup Dorji, non-communal and belonging to the minority community, spearheaded the movement of the Nepalese masses and led them to a democratic set-up in Sikkim. Let Mr Basnet search his own heart and

On the matter of the "rice movement", the author does not appear to realise that had the Sikkim National Congress launched a demonstration on that issue, it would have been a localised affair pertaining to an economic question and not a political one.

As for the "kidnapping" of Shri B. Gurung, Publicity Secretary of the Sikkim National Congress, if the author's remarks are correct, how was it that Gurung died with the Kazi's name on his lips?

In short, the book is tiresome from beginning to end, juvenile, full of misrepresentations, cheap insinuations and snide remarks that smack of jealousy of other Sikkimese.

E. R. M.

## A Spoiled Show

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

AGNIREKHA is Mahesh Kapur's parting gift, completed after his death under the supervision of Bhikish Mukherjee. At places, the film harks back to the period of creative film making in the thirties, the golden days of Bombay Talkies and Prabhat, in the somewhat restrained and mature treatment of the material. The basic story-idea, if not very original, is interesting at least in the first half. Sanjeev Kumar, a widower, falls in love with Sharda who teaches the children. The feelings are mutual, but Sharda rejects any proposal of marriage because of a tormenting hangover from her past. A flashback shows that

she was seduced and abandoned with a child. Sanjeev, of course, would not listen to any excuses and is bent upon marrying her. But his mother-in-law has other plans for protecting her "Khan-dan", and in a Camille-type encounter with Sharda, she succeeds in persuading Sharda to leave Sanjeev. Sanjeev is now full of remorse, but the kids come to his rescue. They run away from the house in search of their "auntie" and find her in a cave-temple. Sanjeev is only too glad to take her back, but she imposes a condition. She will return, but not as a bride-to-be, only as a maid of the house and Sanjeev must marry a girl of his family's choice. Sanjeev accepts and a marriage is arranged. Bindu comes handy for a marriage of convenience so that she can carry on her affair with their impeccuous lover.

At the start of the ritual on the screen, however, there was load-shedding in the theatre and I came out dissatisfied at missing the real dramatic tangle of the film. Up to this point, the film did hold some promise in spite of its occasional lapses into banality. There was no conventional romance-routine laced with songs and dances. There was not much of sentimentality and no rolling-eyed villain, if you would only forget about the rapist. And the vampish antics of Bindu and the horsey clowning by Asrani were mercifully very brief. And there was Sharda with her easy grace. So there were justified grounds for expecting much better things at the end where there was scope for building up subtle emotional conflicts. Thus I continued to curse the power-cut until I heard about the climax from a friend of mine. It was boundless stupidity. Sanjeev Kumar pretended to be roaring drunk, and sang a song. Sharda remonstrated with a song. Sanjeev's mother-in-law now understood their real feelings and changed her decision and ordered Sanjeev to marry Sharda. The luckless Bindu had also her redemption, for her lover

came back as a millionaire, being the winner of a number of lottery prizes. And all lived happily thereafter. Indeed, here was deus-ex-machina in full blast. For once, I blessed the power shortage.

## Far From The Madding Crowd

SANDIP SARKAR

THIS art critic had not been invited by Vasant Pandit, so when he came to learn of his exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts he hesitated a bit. Besides who had heard of Vasant Pandit?

Mr Pandit covers the Calcutta High Court proceedings for a law journal. When the court is closed he goes home to Maharashtra to work for a leprosy colony in a jungle with his friends. He digs wells, constructs roads and puts up buildings for sufferers. He told me, communism by all means, but we must prepare ourselves for it. We must learn to serve. His wife has translated Abanindranath's *Khiser Putul*, Atin Banerjee's *Nilkontho Pakhir* Khonje and Sukanta Bhattacharya's poems into Marathi.

Pandit himself admits that he is indebted to Bengal—especially to artists who had excelled in landscape painting such as Abanindranath and Gopal Ghose. He has not only repaid his debt with interest but set out on his own and flourished.

His miniature water-colour landscapes are delicate and yet powerfully executed. His vertical and horizontal lines have motion, lucidity and brilliance. He has been able to keep the transparent water-colour effect and at the same time bring in the opaque quality of oils where necessary. He has created fine gradations of texture and has woven this skillfully into the whole. There is something profound in his approach.

Each painting is like a sonnet—compact, precise, the strokes are harmonised and the colours contrast-

## AN APPEAL

*In view of the acute shortage of newsprint and the rising cost of everything under the sun, we reduced the number of pages and increased the price of 'Frontier'. But it is difficult to keep pace with the run-away inflation.*

*We are therefore compelled to appeal to our readers and well-wishers for donations to 'Frontier'. We do so reluctantly, for we are aware of the general harshship.*

and boldly. While looking at his work one forgets the technical side, especially his skill. The beauty of Indian forests, the loneliness and majesty of nature engulf him. One hears the faint rustle of the wind when it uses the trees as violins. He watches the magnificent sky, the remote hills, the massive nude rocks from sunrise to sundown. The colours, the mood, and the nuances change as the sun travels from east to west in its fiery chariot. Then the evening sets in and the glow of the western sky recedes as darkness advances step by step. Vasanti Pandit has captured the mood of the forest, the grandeur of solitary places without bringing himself in. There is something primeval, a sense of mystery that lingers on mysticism. One sees how the earth looked when it was uninhabited. Mr Pandit's affinity with Bibhutibhusan Banerjee's *Aryanyak* can hardly be missed, yet there is nothing literary in his paintings; for everything has been translated into the visual idiom.

When the bugs of surrealism and magic are laying many artists low, Vasanti Pandit has proved himself immune. For this one should congratulate him.

### Clippings

## U.S. Boys Go Home, The Weapons Move In

AKIO YAMAKAWA

TOKYO: Using Cold War rhetoric straight from the 1950s, the U.S. Government says that "containment of Russian communism" necessitates building a major air and naval base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean to supplement already strengthened air and naval bases in Japan, Micronesia, the Philippines and Thailand. The Pentagon has announced that

it plans a two-year, \$75 million programme to build a 3,600 meter runway for B-52 bombers and C-5 Galaxies plus new port facilities for nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers at the Diego Garcia atoll. The announcement has sent shock waves throughout Asia, including the rim of Asia already under U.S. military control.

Some of the loudest protests have come from countries the U.S. says its plan will defend and benefit—India and Sri Lanka. Both nations have been pushing futilely for a nuclear-free and neutral "sea of peace" in the Indian Ocean.

The outcry has also been strong in Japan where, in mid-March, all major newspapers ran daily accounts of developments regarding U.S. military strategy in the Diego Garcia move. Japanese, who since the "end" of the Vietnam war have witnessed the home-porting of the aircraft carrier Midway at Yokosuka and increased Air Force and Marine activity in Okinawa, have a special interest in this plan, for it is part of a strategy into which their Self Defence Forces are to be integrated as part of the "total force" once advocated by Melvin Laird.

While Pentagon public relations men talk about the U.S. "withdrawal from Asia", the people of Asia see steady, coordinated increases in U.S. fire-power, especially nuclear.

The U.S. build-up, geographically and tactically coordinated by the new Unified Command Structure of the four armed services, is ostensibly based on the need for "parity" with the expanding Soviet naval presence in Asian waters. The U.S. Government says that the 20 to 30 Soviet destroyers and missile cruisers already in the Indian Ocean will open the door to naval domination of that ocean once the Suez Canal is reopened. This argument is the Pentagon's ace-card in trying to convince the American people to pay a record \$87.73 billion for military activities in the Fiscal year 1975 (beginning July 1).

Behind this Cold War rhetoric lies a more fundamental concern: re-

sources, especially oil. As General Creighton Abrams recently told the Senate Armed Services Committee: "Oil may be only the first of many vital resources used as strategic weapons against us. The threat is multi-dimensional—and very real."

In the privacy of the Senate committee room, Abrams did not single out the Soviet Union as the rationale for fiscal year 1975 build-ups in the military. Rather, he implied that U.S. military force might be used to lean on any nation, pro or anti-American, which threatens the flow of basic resources to the U.S. and its major allies, including Japan. Specifically, he said that the build-ups would provide "leverage in negotiations with friends as well as foes" regarding resources.

The geopolitical realities of world resources have led Japanese ruling circles to quiet but strong support of the current U.S. "speak softly and carry a big stick" strategy. Japanese businessmen and their clients in the Tanaka Cabinet have welcomed the post-Vietnam war U.S. military build-ups inside Japan, and they are even more favourably inclined toward the Diego Garcia scheme. The reason is simple: the Indian Ocean is Japan's life-line not only for Mideast oil but for growing imports of natural resources from Africa.

Although the resources crunch has come earlier than expected, and thus has increased the tempo of U.S. military deployment in Asia, the basic plans were on the drawing boards as early as 1971. At that time, the U.S. was close to defeat and withdrawal in Vietnam and started mapping the postwar strategy now being implemented. The thrust of the Nixon Doctrine strategy is for Asians to fight the ground wars, backed up by U.S. support from the air and sea.

Since 1971, moves have been underway to transform Micronesia into a large-scale base. A 4,700-meter runway was completed last fall on Majuro Island, and others are being planned. A telecommunication coordination system has been completed by the U.S. forces in Guam, and Omega

radar centres are nearing completion in Japan and Australia. (The Omega system will permit Polaris submarines to fire their missiles from undetectable positions on the ocean floor, with increased accuracy based on "fixes" of position determined through the gigantic Omega towers).

In the September 28, 1971 version of the U.S. Air Force's "Basic Doctrine", the Pentagon adopted what was to become known as its, "Flexible Nuclear Response Strategy". Confidential Pentagon papers bearing that date were presented to the Japanese Diet in early February. The papers say that, in order to increase options for "wider military-political initiative", the U.S. should be prepared for "small-scale nuclear war" as well as large-scale nuclear war.

Part of this strategy is the closer integration of Japan's SDF into U.S. military planning. The Diet revelations included the fact that 1,300 copies of the Japanese translation of the "Basic Doctrine" have been distributed to local units of the Air Self Defence Force since March 7, 1973 for use in training. Chapters included in the training material cover such topics as "Light N-operations", "Heavy N-operations", and "Operations for the Maintenance of Domestic Peace in Foreign Countries", all of which should be irrelevant to the SDF, which is constitutionally forbidden nuclear arms and overseas action.

Meanwhile, U.S. forces in Asia are being reorganized for greater mobility, with Okinawa becoming the central command post for the whole military complex in Northeast Asia. The recent shut-down of several U.S. bases in mainland Japan signifies transfers to Okinawa rather than the troops' return home.

Twenty-three military facilities are being reinforced, including ten to be strengthened within this

year. A number of Air Force and Marine units moved from Vietnam to Okinawa in the past year, including fighter air-borne companies of the 7th and 13th U.S. Air Command. The U.S. 5th Air Force's headquarters near Tokyo is being closed, with the 313th Air Division on Okinawa picking up some of the responsibility. And the US Army's Camp Zama headquarters, also near Tokyo, is expected to be moved to Okinawa in the near future.

U.S. Marines have also become more conspicuous in Okinawa—and in South Korea where they recently completed "military exercises" after being airlifted from Okinawa in a mock emergency situation. The Marine Green Beret units are instructing Army and Air Force personnel in their martial arts. Meanwhile, the Marine bases in Iwakuni (Mainland Japan) and Okinawa have been unusually active since the first of the year air-lifting bombs, munitions and chemical warfare weapons to unknown points.

Marine BLTs (Battalion Landing Teams) have been increased in Okinawa, and there are indications that, if and when there is a U.S. troop pull-back from South Korea, these BLTs will be further increased to fill in the holes in the ROK's 600,000-man Army.

The growing importance of Okinawa for the American strategy has raised its position in Japanese strategy as well. Reflecting these developments, the rank of the commander of the SDF's Southwest Air Division, stationed in Okinawa despite residents' protests, has recently been elevated from major general to general.

The reorganization of U.S.-Japan forces and the development of Diego Garcia as a major base are part of the same overarching structure—a U.S. military formation with independent nuclear capacity resting on key points in Hawaii, Yokosuka in mainland Japan, Okinawa, Subic Bay in the Philippines, Satahip Air Base in Thailand, and Diego Garcia. (New Asia News, March 28, 1974)

## Letters

### Gramsci

Appropos M. S. Prabhakar's review (23-3-74) of *Daily Life in Revolutionary China*, Mrs. Macciocchi, an Italian Marxist, examines Chinese reality and Mao Tse-tung thought in the light of Gramscian thought. This is one of the remarkable features of her study which makes it somewhat different from the studies of Hobsbawm or Jan Myrdal. The result is interesting. Here in India the followers of Mao's thought show no awareness of Gramsci's writings and Gramscian thought is distorted by the revisionists. But I think, Gramsci's writings, for example, on Risorgimento or the Southern Question, are very much relevant to us. Gramsci on culture must be read by every Marxist.

According to Macciocchi, "Gramsci should be re-read in the light of the Cultural Revolution. The manner in which he poses the theoretical problem of class hegemony provides a key to the interpretation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung during the Cultural Revolution, especially with regard to the transformation of class hegemony into the proletarian democracy and the limitation of the repressive aspect of the State". After this general statement, Macciocchi analyses the affinities between Gramsci's theoretical formation and Mao's thought on cultural revolution. It is really remarkable that an Italian Marxist who is influenced by Gramsci's thought and whose vision is built

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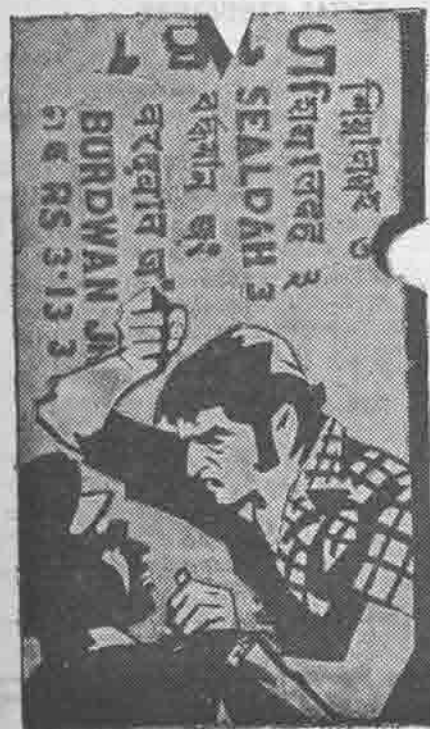
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up by Gramscian perspective sees in the Cultural Revolution the realisation of Gramsci's theories in practice. I do not know what the so-called Gramscian and the Moscovites in India would say.

ARJUN BANDYOPADHYAY  
Naihati

## Medical Representatives

Very recently a conference of the West Bengal State Medical Representatives' Association, the State unit of the Federation of the Medical Representatives Associations of India (affiliated to CITU) was held at Purulia to elect, among other things, the union office-bearers for the current session. Representatives from all the districts of West Bengal flocked there, full of enthusiasm and eager to see a firm united front

against those anti-national profiteers who exploit every rift among the opposition in their bid to crush all radical movements.

When at the last Assembly elections the CPI(M) and its allies were routed, the CPI(M) leaders cried themselves hoarse denouncing and disowning the election. But here, at Purulia, apprehending the possibility of being out-numbered, they denied voting rights to all those who were of doubtful loyalty (to their hypocritical Party line, of course). They arbitrarily appointed men of their choice as presiding officers and at the time of counting they allowed nobody but their own men to be present. Thus ended a "free, fair and democratic" election in true CPI(M) style.

Those who came from Purulia sadder and wiser and who are not so mean in numerical strength, may

now decide to form a separate union. But that would be just fulfilling designs of the exploiters and agents within the union, as has been the case with the AITUC, the ABTA and such other organisations. As long as the ABTA was a united teachers' organisation embracing all shades of political opinion, it was a power to reckon with and it could and did wrest concessions from the Government for the teachers. But today it is shattered—a purely CPI(M) organisation—saw's teeth, sans nose, sans everything.

So, the aggrieved medical representatives of West Bengal would well to keep the cunning tactics of their enemies in mind and never lose sight of the need to preserve their ranks while carrying on the just struggle.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE WEST BENGAL

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